

The TOILER

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THE OPEN SHOP

The following timely appeal is published in a leaflet by the Central Labor Union of Philadelphia, which requests labor organizations to reprint it and distribute it as widely as possible:

"The open shop is the open road to disaster for organized workers. It is the open road to mastery by the employing class. That is why intelligent workingmen oppose it; that is why employing masters favor it.

"For workingmen it is the entering wedge by which organization is slowly strangled, wages are reduced, hours lengthened and the rank and file are reduced to servile submission to heartless bosses.

"Nowhere else in the modern world do the employing masters oppose the union shop as they do here. A tremendous drive is being made by the employing class all over the country to crush unionism. Millions of dollars have been contributed for the purpose. Quietly gathering their forces, getting the aid of chambers of commerce and civic organizations, the masters of industry seek to establish unchallenged domination through the 'open shop.'

"In England this struggle has been long ago brought to a conclusion. The same is true of Canada. In both countries the right of organization of shop and factory, mine and mill, is conceded. It has been eliminated from the realm of controversy. But the workingmen of 'free America' are forced to fight for an elemental right that is taken for granted in countries where monarchy itself still survives.

"The 'open shop' is related to 'Americanism' by our enemies. No more crass hypocrisy has ever been displayed. The slave pens of the Gary steel trust are typical examples of open-shop Americanism. Although the eight-hour day has been long ago conceded in the steel industry of England,

Germany and other countries, the United States is the only country in the world where workingmen work 12 hours per day and seven days a week. This is open-shop 'Americanism.'

"Organization is forbidden. He who talks it is discharged. He who attempts to organize is slugged. Spies of the companies swarm in the mill. They slink in the streets, in the pool-rooms, in the movies, at public gatherings, everywhere that workingmen gather the company spy is present. Suspicion, fear, distrust and hatred brood over the workers. The friend working by their side may be a spy. Life is filled with this brooding menace that dogs their heels. This is open-shop 'Americanism.'

"'Welfare work' of the open-shop masters of Garyism is substituted for unionism, together with the 'company union.' Homes are purchased from the company by the workers on easy payments. When a real strike comes this 'welfare work' is seen to be a scourge to whip the slaves back to their pens. The workers are evicted from their homes except those who consent to betray their brothers by going to work. It places a premium on treachery. This is open-shop 'Americanism.'

"The 'company union' is a plaything of the employment masters. The workers 'organize' like sheep under the eyes of the bosses. Officials are chosen to preside over this abortion of unionism. Any genuine grievances cannot be discussed under the eyes of the agents of the masters. He who attempts it soon finds that he is discharged for some trivial reason. The workers are cowed. They submit to injustice and merciless robbery. This is open-shop 'Americanism.'

"Brothers in the army of labor: Shall we submit to what our brothers in the monarchies of

Europe will not tolerate? To do so would be to brand ourselves as craven cowards and merit the contempt of our children. It would be to play false to the martyrs of the labor movement in this country. Our fathers, beginning in the '20s of the last century, formed their first enduring unions. Some went down in ruins, but their sons rebuilt them again and again. Through struggles, disappointments, sacrifices and defeats, they struggled on through the '40s, the '50s and the '60s.

"Then came the civil war, and the unions all but disappeared. With peace a new generation took up the old task and through the nineteenth century repeated this struggle. Now we are in the twentieth century and at the end of a war to 'make the world safe for democracy.' Safe for any country but the United States: safe for the employing masters of industry!

"What a travesty! We were called to the fields of Flanders while these employing upstarts remained at home and accumulated enormous gains. Some of our brothers lie in graves across the Atlantic. Many have returned, and they are now told by the employing upstarts that organization of labor is 'un-American'! Would that our brothers, now fertilizing the fields of France, would witness this spectacle in the country for which they gave their lives! Yet the masters tell us this is open-shop 'Americanism.'

"Shall we submit? Shall we permit this stark impudence, this attempt to capitalize patriotism for dirty material ends, to go without rebuke? Shall we permit the masters of industry to identify Americanism with their bank accounts?

"No, a thousand times, no! Without organization of labor in industry workingmen are helpless to contend with the mighty power of organized capital. The employing class demand and secure organization for themselves and would deny it to us. This is impertinence and greed compounded. The workers will organize for betterment and fraternize for mutual protection. There can be no democracy in the workshop that rests on the autocratic will of the owners. It is industrial slavery.

"The open shop means the supremacy of the employing masters. The union shop means the democracy of labor meeting with the bosses on equal terms and capable of warding off injustice and tyranny. The open shop is bogus patriotism. The union shop means a humanist spirit in industry. The open shop means the spy, the sneak, low wages, long hours, suspicion, treachery and vast profits for the employing masters. The union shop means fraternity better wages, shorter hours, trust in each other and a collective voice in determining conditions of work.

"Take no account of what a mercenary daily press may say. Most of the daily papers will be against us. Rely on yourselves. Your vast numbers give you power. By dividing you they weaken you. The struggle is on, and each of us should be glad to participate in the best cause that has come to us in a generation.

"Away with the open shop, with its fake 'Americanism'! Onward to the union shop, with its fraternity, its democracy, its collective help, its unity of ideals and service to each other!"

Why The Unemployment?

By H. W. Garner.

So long as a wages and profit system exists there must be found a market for the surplus of manufactured products. And when no market can be found, then the wages and profit system ceases to function. It seems that we have about reached that point. At any rate the capitalists of this country are clamoring for foreign markets. For the past three years there has been maintained an economic blockade against Soviet Russia. The capitalist governments were afraid to recognize the Soviet Government and would not allow

trade with them. They thought they could starve them out, but they have failed.

Now it seems that the capitalists of all nations, who have surplus products, are turning at last to the Bolsheviki, not because they are less afraid of communism, but because they must find markets for the commodities the workers have produced and cannot buy back with the wages they receive. There is quite a lot of talk at the present time about extending credit to countries which are unable to pay; the profit takers must

have markets for their goods, and they will resort to any means in order to hold their control yet a little longer.

Over-Production And Under-Consumption.

Here in America for some time past there have been men going about the country crying to the workers, "speed up; more production will reduce the cost of living." And today what do we find? In the industrial centers we find hundreds of thousands of workers walking the streets, with more being laid off daily. Plants are shutting down, laying off workers and then hiring a part of them back at reduced wages. Big Business is saying, "we must find markets." Herbert Hoover, when asked recently as to his views on the present commercial depression in this country, replied: "It would take many columns to state them fully, but, briefly, it is due to a falling off in demand by the public." In other words, under-consumption. That is to say, the workers have simply produced too much and cannot buy it back because of the meagre wages they have received. Therefore they must take a vacation and starve until the bosses find other customers."

Unemployment And The Open Shop.

But even now we are being told that there is

no overproduction. All sorts of excuses and explanations are being offered for the unemployment that spreads over the country like a plague. Labor leaders, who should be explaining the real cause of this condition and pointing out the revolutionary remedy, are merely trying to get the labor-skinners to let up on the open-shop campaign by "purging" the labor movement of the "Reds" — that is, the red-blooded workers. They never point out the cause of the unemployment which is creating the ideal condition for the success of the union smashing crusade of the bosses.

But it cannot be concealed any longer. There is an overproduction and there will continue to be over-productions, industrial stagnations, panics and wars for foreign markets as long as the profit system remains.

Our job is to organize as a class for the purpose of overthrowing the profit system; to take control of industry and government. Then we can produce what we need and give no part of our product to idle parasites. Under this system there will be neither over-production nor under-consumption; no panics, no hunger, no wars.

This means a fight with the capitalist class. But this fight is well worth while, ready for it!

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers

By A Clothing Worker.

The great success of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union has been heralded far and wide, and thousands of workers in other industries look upon it as an ideal labor organization. Many seem to think there is some magic in the word "Amalgamated," and new unions are springing up in other fields with this name. Hillman, Schlossburg and the other officials of our union are praised far and wide by the socialist and liberal publications and the enslaved workers in other fields, struggling along with little or no organization, are taught to regard such men as the saviors of the working class.

But the rebel workers in the clothing trades know better. We don't thank our "leaders" for any of the victories we have gained. The success of our union, heretofore, is due to the fighting

membership. The Jews and Russians and the best of the other foreign-born elements—schooled and trained in the class war—make up the bulk of our organization. These as a rule, are far more aggressive than the average American who has been taught to look upon his boss as a "partner" We know the bosses are our enemies who must be fought to a standstill.

A House Of Cards.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union, as such, is built on the basis of a house of cards, heavy cumbersome and ceremonious. Its whole tendency is to take all the initiative enthusiasm and fighting spirit out of the members. Practically, if not theoretically, all power is placed in the hands of the officials. These same officials are

in a position to strike all kinds of bargains, fix up any kind of a horse deal with the bosses. And they do it, too.

The bosses and the union officials, in fact, are pretty good friends and they get along well. During the busy season there were instances where the employers seemed more interested in getting their workers into the union than the union officers themselves. While the war was on the aggressive element had the bosses by the throat. Due to the shortage of labor they were in a position to demand the best possible conditions, so the bosses had to have the union and the soft-handed officials to restrain the Bolsheviki bunch who wanted to use that period for all it was worth. And the bosses succeeded very well, for they made enormous profits on army material and all other goods whose prices went sky-high. At the same time, they restrained the workers, through the union, from getting "sassy."

A "Good Thing" For The Bosses.

Such a good thing has the union been to the bosses that even now they are appreciating it. They want an open shop, true enough, but they want the union to function on an open shop basis. A paradox, but nevertheless, it is so. Where there is a will there is a way. Their proposition, to which the leaders of the union practically accede, is this: Every one, in order to work, must belong to the union; can't work in the shop without a union card, etc.; but the bosses should have the right to hire and fire at any time. I wonder whether the readers fully understand the power this gives the union officials and the bosses.

Then, there is also accepted by the officials, in fact, practically proposed by the officials, an arrangement for scaled work, that is, provided you produce so much work you will get so much wages. This is piece work or even worse, but calling it piece work is not good now; it is necessary to fool the workers. They don't like piece work; so call it scales—that will get by with them. The new proposed arrangement is simply a marvel for the bosses, for despite the upper hand they have on the situation, they perfectly well know that with such an element as the clothing workers they would never have piece work in the trade if there was not some kind of a union to pacify and restrain the workers from going out on innumerable

shop strikes most any time; most likely during the busy season.

The Hire And Fire Plan.

The union will see to it that such things do not happen. It's good to have a union; and then the union could not be destroyed, anyway. If the bosses would try it, the Bolsheviki, the real ones, would come into control. There would be more trouble in the trade than the bosses would ever dream of; and most likely they would get licked at the end. So they aren't taking any chances. The bosses want to make the union their tool. They want it to become virtually a company union, and through the hire and fire arrangement they are on the way to do it. It will give the bosses a chance to almost completely control the shop chairmen and shop committees, if any, for they must dicker with the boss or out they go. If the hire and fire deal goes through, you had better not utter any Bolsheviki thoughts in your shop, or even in your union meeting, for that will land you on the blacklist.

Do You Go to Church? Have You Friends Who Do?

If so, you and they should read

COMMUNISM and CHRISTIANISM

By

Bishop William Montgomery Brown D. D.

To banish Gods from the skies and capitalists from the earth is the purpose of this book by Bishop Brown, formerly of the Episcopal Church, now turned Revolutionary Socialist. The modern "Age of Reason" is what some call this book. If you are a church goer or have friends who are, then this is the book you should read and have them read. It is not an attempt to reconcile Scientific Socialism and the Christian religion but is a call to Christians to discard their theological dogmas for Marxian Communism. Eighty four pages—25c.

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And the scale work. It is not sufficient to control the workers at their work. They must be driven to produce the maximum for the minimum of wages possible. If, due to the speeding-up, half of them walk the streets for lack of employment, why, so much better. The more starved you are, the more enslaved you feel. And if those that work should get funny, there are plenty of others starving and knocking at the door to take their places. This can be done by the union officials, well, if you don't listen to their good advice.

A New System Needed.

Now we workers have till now, no matter what faction we belong to, not fully realized the importance that the technical organization form plays in our union. The secret, the key to the successful control of the few over the many in the labor movement lays in the organization of a certain system of control.

The present system of control in the unions gives to the officials an iron grip upon the organization. They are virtual masters to whom the workers submit. This is also the case in the A. C. W. where there is, one may say, a local union for

every fifty stitches on your coat. There are about two dozen locals in the city of New York. The members in a shop belong sometimes to all the two dozen locals, with separate rulings, decisions, officials and what not. Of course, theoretically, everything is democratic. But what good is theory when practice goes contrary?

If the union was organized on the shop unit system and controlled on the basis of shop delegates it would indeed be a mobile organization and the bosses would not pull off any horse deals and play the fiddle getting big salaries. The workers would conduct the fight according to their wishes and the technical help in the office would merely give advice and carry out orders.

We will have to create a fighting machine to accomplish this. As far as we are concerned, we are already on the job in this direction and the labor fakers in our union will have some job to put their latest marvel across; in fact we believe we'll be able to prevent them from doing so, judging from the temper of the workers. The fakers have hard times coming in The Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

Within Or Without?

(Translated from La Vie Ouvriere, Paris, Sept. 10, 1920.)

Shall the revolutionary workers carry on their fight within the existing trade unions or should they withdraw from them and form new organizations? This is the burning question in the labor movement of France and all other industrially developed countries, including America. It has long been the accepted dogma in America that the fight in the reactionary unions is hopeless and should be abandoned. The able editor of La Vie Ouvriere in this article quotes the words of Lenin to prove the utter fallacy of this disastrous policy. It is reprinted here for the serious consideration of the revolutionary workers in the American Labor Movement.

Two errors are in circulation that must be denounced and stopped.

One, launched by Paul Faure in le POPULAIRE of September 2nd, tends to create the belief that affiliation with Moscow implies a chism among the unions, the opposing of unions against unions, division in the labor movement.

According to the other one, committed by some brothers in Marseilles and elsewhere, it would seem to be impossible for unions of a revolutionary spirit to become part of the Moscow international while still remaining within the Confederation of Labor (C. G. T.); whence again the necessity for a split.

Thus they would have it in both cases that the revolutionists are under the obligation of quitting the C. G. T. and starting brand new unions.

But whence has Paul Faure drawn his bogey man to frighten children? Will he open the May number of "International Communist" and read the article entitled: "Should Revolutionists Be Active In The Reactionary Unions"? in which

Lenin examines the position taken by the Communists of the left in Germany towards the old unions, and which is not without an analogy with the state of mind some of our brothers find themselves in:

Lenin Says "Stay In."

"The German left wing Communists believe themselves able to respond to this question resolutely in the negative. To listen to them: declamations and cries of anger against the "reactionary" unions suffice to "demontstrate" the uselessness and even the sterility of revolutionary action by communists in the counter-revolutionary unions of the chauvinists, of the "conciliationists", of the Legiens.

"But however convinced the German left wing Communists may be of the revolutionary character of this tactic **IT IS IN FACT AND AT ITS BASE PROFOUNDLY ERRONEOUS.**

"In countries more advanced than Russia a certain reactionary spirit has manifested itself, incontestably more violent than in our country. In Russia the Mensheviks found (and still find in a small number of unions) a certain amount of support among the union men grace to the continuance of a narrow trade spirit, to unionistic egoism and to opportunism. In Western countries the Mensheviks are more solidly entrenched in the unions and there has appeared an "aristocracy of labor," narrow, proud, selfish, petty bourgeois and imperialistic in spirit, much more strongly than with us.

"There can be no question about it; the struggle against Msrs. Jouhaux Henderson, Merrheim, Legien and Company is incomparably more difficult than the struggle against our Mensheviks, who represent a type politically and socially essentially homogeneous.

"This fight must be carried on without pity, and it must be pushed as we have done it in Russia until we have covered with shame all the incorrigible opportunistic, chauvinistic leaders and driven them from the unions.

"It is impossible to capture political power (and it must not be tried) until such time as this fight has been carried on to a certain extent, and in the different countries and in the different conditions, this certain extent is not identical, which makes such a situation that only practiced, able, and competent political leaders of the work-

ing class can appraise the situation in each country taken separately. In Russia the full measure of this success was given to us notably in the elections to the Constituent Assembly in November 1917, a few days after the proletarian revolution of October 25, 1917. In these elections the Mensheviks were literally crushed, receiving only 700,000 votes (including the Caucasus it was 1,250,000 against 9,000,000 votes received by the Bolsheviks.

A Service To The Bourgeoisie.

"But we still fight against the aristocracy of labor in the name of the working class and in order to put it upon our side; we still combat the opportunist and chauvinist socialist leaders to get control of the whole working class. This elementary and evident truth cannot be disregarded. It is precisely this fault that the German left wing Communists commit when because of the petty bourgeois character of the unions they conclude to quit them to stop all activities in them, and to start preconceived labor organizations. **This is an unpardonable mistake and amounts to a great service rendered to the bourgeoisie.** For our Mensheviks, similarly with all the labor leaders of the Kautsky tendency, are but agents of the bourgeoisie in the midst of the labor movement (as we have incessantly pointed out in Russia) or indeed the working clerks (commis Ouvriers) according to the profoundly exact expression of the American disciples of Daniel De Leon. To renounce all action in the reactionary unions means to abandon the backward masses of workers to the influence of the reactionary leaders, of the aristocracy of labor, the enbourgeoisied workers.

"The absurd theory of non-participation of the Communists in the conservative labor movement shows precisely with what lightness the left wing Communists consider the important question of influence on the masses, and how they misuse the word "mass." In order to come to the aid of the mass, to acquire its sympathy and its help, we must not fear the difficulties, the traps, the insults and the persecutions of the leaders (who whether opportunists or chauvinists are most often in direct relations with the bourgeois and the police) and to work necessarily **WHERE GOES THE MASS.** We must know how to consent to sacrifices, to surmont the greatest dangers,

to carry on a determined, systematic, and above all, **PATIENT PROPAGANDA** (and this in the midst of the most reactionary organizations) where there are masses of proletarians or semi-proletarians.

We Must Work With The Masses.

"Millions of workers in England, France, and Germany are passing for the first time from unorganization to the elementary forms (the most simple and accessible) of organization, to that of the trade unions; and the absurd left wing Communists, while never ceasing to talk of the masses, **ARE REFUSING TO WORK WITHIN THE UNIONS**, using as a pretext the latter's reactionary spirit, inventing the Workers' Union, a brand new organization very proper and innocent of all bourgeois-democratic sins (but nevertheless guilty of the sins of professional and trade narrowness) which will be (will be!) say they, numerically strong and for affiliation with which they only demand (they only demand!) the

recognition of the Soviet system and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"One cannot conceive of a greater mistake, a greater wrong done to the revolution by the revolutionaries of the left. Indeed, if even in Russia, after two years and a half of victories without precedent over the Russian and Allied bourgeoisie, we should insist upon as conditions for membership in the unions the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat, we would make a mistake, we would diminish our influence with the masses, we would play the game of the Mensheviks. For all the task of the Communists is to **CONVINCE** the other workers, to know how to work **AMONG** them and not to separate themselves from them by infantile "left" inventions.

"There can be no doubt of it, Messrs. Gompers, Henderson, Jouhaux, Legien are very much obliged to those revolutionists of the "left" who preach the quitting of the unions and who refuse to work in them."

Scandinavian Labor Troubles

Special correspondence to The Toiler.

Unemployment is on the increase in Sweden, affecting all industries. The hardest hit are the textile, match, and metal and machinery industries. Labor is being laid off everywhere. Those that remain are working only part-time. The lock-out in the building industry is still on. There are several small strikes going on in different parts of the country. Another fight is being staged in the field of transportation. All the workers employed on the private railroads are being forced out on strike for higher wages because the employers refused to consider their demands. This will affect about 20,000 workers. However, the workers on the State-owned railroads, who received an increase some time ago, are not affected, hence the strike will not disturb the larger state railroads.

The craft-unions in the Marine Transport industry, who demand a small increase in wages and other minor economic demands, have submitted all their demands to arbitration. They have been at it for six weeks and are still arbitrating. Their agreement expires in January 1st, 1920.

In Norway, the situation threatens trouble in the very near future. All the railroad-workers,

even the office force, are going out about the 1st of December, for higher wages. They are mostly employed on the State-owned roads.

In Kristiania, the capital of Norway, all the city employees are out on strike. The strike began with the Hospital-workers, who were denied an increase. As a result all the other principal workers went out in sympathy. In Norway, the unemployment situation is practically the same as it is in Sweden.

In Denmark, according to the latest accounts, unemployment is even greater than in either Norway or Sweden. (The latest figures for Copenhagen alone are 25,000 out of work.) Some big strikes may be expected in the near future. The time agreements for some 200,000 workers will expire on the 1st of February, the 1st of March and the 1st of April. Practically all the workers are putting up demands for increase in wages, but in view of the economic situation as it is today, it does not seem likely that the employers are going to yield to demands. To sum up, the workers in Scandinavia, (like the workers everywhere else), will have their hands full in the next few months in the battle to hold the social and economic position which they occupy at present.

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Another Renegade

By J. P. Cannon.

The counter-revolution has set up a new outpost in this country at Seattle, Washington, Mr. H. F. Kane is the officer in charge and he occupies the exalted position of editor of the Industrial Worker, western organ of the I. W. W. Mr. Kane is too far away from Soviet Russia to lend a hand to General Wrangel. But that doesn't prevent him from doing his little bit behind the lines, after the manner of the stay-at-home patriot who couldn't go to war but made four minute speeches to help it along.

The question of affiliation with the Third International is before the membership of the I. W. W. and Mr. Kane's particular job, it appears, is to see to it that the outlawed and persecuted direct actionists of the I. W. W. make no alliance with the outlawed and persecuted direct actionists of the Third International. The Russian Revolution, which is the Third International in action, is the

object of his attack. He warns the members of the I. W. W. to think twice before they make an entangling alliance with a working class government which, he says, is "propped up by bayonets and which has sent invading armies into other countries." For the Russian workers and peasants to defend themselves, like the I. W. W. men at Centralia, with weapons in their hands, and make good with it and beat off all their oppressors: this is what Mr. Kane condemns.

In the issue of October 30th, which has just come to our notice, he propounds a series of questions for the western lumber jacks to answer before they join hands with the roughneck Bolsheviks. This is one of them:

"Are the workers of Russia permitted to freely travel through the interior looking for employment?"

There you have it fellow-workers! If you line up with the Third International you are in danger of sacrificing your dearly bought privilege of chasing a job from one place to another, the employment sharks will be put out of business, and the whole country will go to hell! Of course, you may have more time to hunt and fish, or look around for decent homes to live in. But your own government, "propped up by bayonets," will deprive you of the pleasure of searching for a master.

This is old stuff, of course. We have read it many times in capitalist papers and magazines. John Spargo and Charles Edward Russel explained it all to us long ago, and the New York Times seldom lets a day go by without mentioning it. The last convention of the A. F. of L. sounded a warning to the same effect, and Lloyd George talks with tears in his voice about the "blood and terror" of the Bolsheviks. But we doubt if the international bourgeoisie, in their most sanguine moments, ever counted on such help from the press of the I. W. W.

Renegades come and go, and one more or less makes but little difference in the final summing up. Harold Lord Varney made quite a little splash, but he has already sunk beneath the black waves of oblivion. But there is one thing to be said for Varney. He broke with the I. W. W. before he sold out to the master class. He didn't play the double game. He didn't say industrial freedom and counter-revolution in the same breath. He renounced

Frank Little before he shook hands with his assassins.

We have confidence that the western members of the I. W. W. will deal promptly with this man Kane who has attacked the revolution in their name. A plain man of the rank and file has already answered him in a masterful article in the issue of November 20. They may be confused by queer and crooked arguments of the One Big

Union Monthly against the Third International. They may want to study it over a while before they undertake the heavy responsibilities of affiliation. But you can't fool them about the Russian Revolution, Mr. Kane! They know, as the workers all over the world know, that the Workers' Republic of Russia represents their highest hopes and aspirations. They know that the enemies of the Russian Revolution are the enemies of the working class!

The Army Of Unemployed

By A Private In It.

We are now facing an acute unemployment situation and while watching it develop, there are signs of it becoming more and more menacing to the workers in this country.

Approximately thirty-five per cent of the wage-slaves are now unemployed. Wholesale shutdowns of textile mills, automobile plants, clothing factories, and the "laying off" of thousands upon thousands of workers in other industries is being effected.

The Unemployment Army will play a major part in this "industrial war," which is created annually by capitalism. The only time it is done away with, is when "we" are at war with other countries; and until the end of these capitalistic scraps, we are unable to experience the "excitement" of being without a job.

Just the other day I noticed the following in the capitalist press: "Jobs For 11,000 Men," was the headline. But the text told me something different; it was, that "more than 10,000 men are already employed in this plant," and that "a drive was about to be started to get the needed number of skilled ship workers, to bring the pay-roll up to the eleven thousand mark." See, the unemployment problem is solved!

We cannot wait until a few jobs are created, for only the few will get them. What about the rest of us? We're hungry, too. We'll take jobs, if there are any to take, but if there are none, why.....?

"Say bo, I've just read that 'Your Dollar Buys More Food To-Day, Than For Three Years.'"

"Yes, but where in hell are we to get the dollar to buy it," questioned the other Scissor-Bill. "Sure," he continued, "there is plenty of food in

the warehouses, in the stores, public markets, etc., and it will stay there, I suppose, until we are able to get it. I mean get enough dollars to enable us to get it," he concluded.

"Why wait? I think, we should have more cents," said the other "guy."

I speak of the Unemployment Army playing a big part. As an individual I know the part I am going to play. Do you know?

I'll just top off the bill with the following, with apologies to Shelley:

"Rise like lions after slumber,
In unvanquishable numer;
Shake your chains to earth like dew,
And go out and get your stew.
I know I'm hungry; you are too!

James Larkin, Harry Winitsky and Benjamin Gitlow, serving five-year terms for alleged violation of the state criminal anarchy law, have been transferred from Dannemora prison to Sing Sing, it was announced by Nelles, Hale and Shor attorneys for the men. The transfer was made because of the difficulty of holding consultations with the prisoners in regard to their appeals from sentence, the lawyers stated, and will be in effect only four weeks. Dannemora is 18 hours away from New York.

Boston.—Curtailment of production in the New England textile industries has reached a point where less than half the normal output is being produced. In most mills the workers have been offered the choice of a ten per cent cut, or a shutdown. The Lawrence Manufacturing Company in Lowell has reduced wages about 23 per cent. many mills are on part time.

Fair And Reasonable Profits

By W. J. C. Gibson.

"What I say is, profits, so long as they're fair and reasonable, don't do no harm," said Dick.

"What's it you're getting at?" Bill asked his friend. "You know all profits are made out of the labor of the working class, and if there was a free contract stamped, signed, and sealed without any force being used to make the workers work, you'd be right; but it ain't working that way. You know the workers ain't free to act. They've got to work and produce profits for the boss class or else starve."

"I know it's just for producing the profits they get their wages," replied Dick.

"Then what the deuce are you talking about fair and reasonable profits? There can't be any such thing."

"It's an idea I've got in my head. I agree about the worker being forced and all that, and what I'm thinking is: suppose the people said there's too much profit-making, it's got to be cut down to a reasonable figure, wouldn't that be fair to the workers?" said Dick.

Somebody interjected with the friendly advice that Dick should keep on thinking and some day he'd be an M. P. for the Middle Class Union.

"Middle class!" said Bill. "You've got it right, you have. It's the middle class idea against big capital and being middle class it's no good to the workers. Now if you'd said do away with profits altogether you'd be talking sense."

"If I'm not talking sense by going half-way, the chap who goes the whole must have less sense."

"Now you've put it that way, let's see who produces the profits and who gets them," said Dick.

"The profits, reasonable or otherwise, are the private property of the capitalists. The bosses employ workers who are forced through fear of starvation to work, and these workers produce the profits. Can any profits, big or small, be reasonable, in the eyes of the workers?"

"From that point of view I agree with you, Bill," said Dick. "It's the workers who produce all social wealth. I know that. The only claim a capitalist can make to the profits is the risk he runs by investment.

"Well; what I say is, that be blowed for a tale! Look, I'm not going to say the capitalist does not run a risk at times. We know sometimes they open up a show and then lose every thing; but that doesn't mean the whole capitalist class runs a risk of not getting profits. In fact, a capitalist who loses his property always loses it to his brother capitalists, never to the workers or society as a whole."

"Leave the class idea out of it," Dick said.

"If we leave the class idea out, we're closing our eyes to facts, and I'm not going to argue with my eyes closed."

"Why not look at it the way the workers do?" said Dick.

"That's what I'm doing. We Socialists always take the working class point of view, and if the way they look at things is right or wrong, we say so," Bill replied. "You know the workers look at the question either as class versus class or a group of workers versus a group of capitalists."

"No, it ain't."

"Your boss," said Bill, "may be a decent sport and all that sort of thing, but he's a capitalist, and you carry out every union rule in his shop. The rules weren't made for his shop alone; they were made to meet the conditions of the union members in all the shops of the trade or industry. You really don't look at the thing from the view of individual capitalists—it's the bunch."

"Gad! that's so," said Dick. "I always thought this class idea was a German one. Now I come to look at it, you're right, Bill. It's the conditions in Britain that makes the class war necessary. I never thought of it before." (Same in U. S.—Ed.)

"The struggle being against the capitalist class, the workers say to the individual capitalists and the whole class. 'You are exploiting us for profits.' If the boss says 'I've a right to them for the risk I run,' we say the risk is not of our making, and is an affair between the bosses themselves."

"Good!" said Dick, and made some comments about two heads being better than one.

"It's only to be expected the capitalists will try to make out to the workers that they're only get-

ting a small, reasonable and fair profit, the more labor awakens up to the position. Then there's the small capitalists. They see big capital about to swallow them up, and they shout out for an examination of profits and want what is called a reasonable profit."

"And the workers have got nothing to do with it?"

"Of course not. The worker only gets enough to pay the capitalists from whom he gets food, clothing, and shelter. Big or small profits, it makes no difference to their economic position. The workers are wage slaves, and slaves have

got to be driven to work. That's the point we've got to remember. It would never do for the workers to have the call on money the way the bosses have. Wage slaves are driven to work by the whip of starvation."

"It's a beautiful state of affairs," someone remarked.

"But the workers are beginning to talk about ending capitalism," said Bill. "The more they talk about it, the more convinced they are it must be done; and the sooner they do it and establish Communism the better." — The Socialist (London).

The Only Way Out

By Jane B. Lee.

The American bourgeoisie is hard put to it trying to explain the nation-wide phenomenon of unemployment. It advances such stupid reasons as failure to ratify the Peace Treaty, decline in markets, deflation, etc., etc. Of course, the capitalist class can ill afford to disclose the truth in the light of which it stands condemned. Let us, therefore, delve a little deeper in our effort to unearth the real cause.

Private ownership in the means of production inevitably leads to the concentration of wealth among an ever-decreasing few. It creates trusts and syndicates, the aggregate investments of which run into millions of dollars, enabling the introduction of the most improved methods of production. This increases the rate of production, at the same time decreasing the number of workers in proportion to the increment of production, thereby lessening the purchasing power and overstocking markets, a condition known as "over-production."

Industrial stagnation at home, with capital ever on the look-out for more profits, results in a mad race after foreign markets. Competition and rivalry among different nations, cutting each other's throats for commercial supremacy, ends in imperialistic wars.

The Aftermath Of War.

The war of 1914-1918, with its ten million killed, twenty million crippled, its direct expenditure

of \$370,000,000,000 the U. S. alone paying out over thirty-two billion, its ruthless wrecking of property amounting to more hundreds of billions,—this orgy of destruction has left the larger part of Europe prostrate. With industry paralyzed, starvation, epidemics, an alarming death-rate remain the heritage of the European workers today.

The United States, one of the richest countries on earth in natural resources, prior to the war supplied Europe with the raw material which, transformed into a finished product, was exported to America. Devastated Europe does not seem a good risk to American finance-capital, hence it hesitates to add in raw material to the already colossal war liabilities incurred by Europe.

This logical and inevitable consequence of the very organization of capitalist production, of which the world war is but an exaggerated form, and unemployment a mere incident, cannot certainly be dealt with by the class which profits by it—the bourgeoisie.

Aim To Break Labor Morale.

Sabotaging industry by shutting down mills and factories, the aim and object of the industrial autocrats is to break the stamina and morale of labor, and by slow starvation compel submission to the tyrants' terms. But hunger, bread lines, soup kitchens, crumbs of charity do not always create meek, cringing slaves. History furnishes

examples galore of starvation and misery finding expression in rebellion.

Against this potential menace the American bourgeoisie is now more than ever uniting its forces. To ward off the imminent danger of a proletarian revolution, the Russian model of which has proven such an inspiration to the world proletariat, the capitalist class engages in covert warfare with the Workers' Republic of Russia, by supplying war material for the counter-revolutionary operations of the Kolchaks-Denekins, Wrangels, etc., and by inaugurating an organized campaign of defamation, falsehood and calumny to delude the working-class into the belief that the Russian experiment is a failure unworthy of emulation. Then there is the propaganda of the so-called "Americanization" movement, in essence; the old ideology of poverty transformed into wealth through the exercise of hard labor, thrift and obedience. Should this peaceful front fail, there is the ever-ready machinery of legal force: raids, arrests, jail terms, deportations and the whole paraphernalia of the capitalist state power. This in brief is the way the bourgeoisie proposes to meet the present problem of unemployment. What about the workers?

The Mission Of The Proletariat.

As already indicated, the interests of the two classes are diametrically opposed. In the struggle against bourgeois exploitation no half-way measures are of any avail. Nothing short of the abolition of capitalist rule can be of any permanent and real value. The road then is clearly mapped out: the proletariat must set out to accomplish its historic mission, the overthrow of capitalism.

The foundations for this struggle have already been laid. Uniform, concerted revolutionary action will shatter the decayed capitalist structure and inaugurate in its stead the new order based on an equitable, rational and responsible relationship of free, happy, creative individuals, the Workers' Republic!

The Offensive Against Labor

from day to day.

Lyn, Mass.—The shoe manufacturers here have made a formal demand upon the Joint Council of United Shoe Makers to accept the abolition of a wage bonus which runs from 12½ to 26 per cent. Fifteen thousand workers are involved.

St. Louis, Mo.—A permanent injunction has been issued against the United Leather Workers International Union restraining them from picketing the factory of a local trunk manufacturer, where 1,000 workers are on strike. A similar injunction has been issued against the Amalgamated Clothing Workers here.

Danville, Va. — Faced with the threat of a 25 cent wage cut, the 5,000 workers in the Dan River Cotton Mills have voted for a 15 per cent cut and the abolition of the 10 per cent bonus.

Boston.—The National Grange at its fifty-fourth annual convention here adopted a resolution calling for the non-union shop

New York.—Union officials estimate conservatively that more than 100,000 needle workers are now idle in Greater New York. Of these nearly 60,000 are men's clothing workers representing 90 to 95 per cent of the total number in the industry. Total unemployment here in all lines is estimated at 300,000.

About 200,000 needle workers are laid off throughout the state and the total unemployment in the state runs near 600,000, it is estimated.

Philadelphia.—About 100,000 needle workers have been laid off here.

Tampa, Fla. — Twenty thousand Florida lumbermen have been subjected to a 25 per cent wage cut all the way down the line. The naval stores employing 7,000 men, have made a similar cut.

Washington, D. C.—Only 20 per cent of the leather workers of the country are now at work, it is reported here. Many factories will not open until March, it is predicted.

Paterson, N. J. — The Associated Industries of Paterson have issued ten "principles" upon which the manufacturers propose to operate their plants. The principles include the declaration that the "open shop" is in force, and that the right to hire and fire is entirely a matter of the management, with no "interference" from "outside committees."

The All-Russian Agricultural Workers' Union

The All-Russian Union of Agricultural Workers as at present constituted is of recent origin and growth. It was not until after the revolution of October 1917 that they saw the necessity of allying themselves with the city workers, the land workers were also carried away with the general revolutionary enthusiasm prevailing at that time. Until the revolution of 1917 the agricultural workers of Russia had no union of their own, neither during the time of the old Russian feudal system nor during the period of growth of the capitalist regimes. Some attempts to organize the Agricultural workers were made during the revolutionary movement of 1904—5; the union of the workers of Boutirsky Farm in Moscow, can be quoted as an example, but these were of a scattered, improvised character, without any general plan or aim; they had no serious influence upon the development of the Agricultural workers organization.

Only after the February revolution of 1917 were small unions of agricultural workers started, chiefly in the neighborhood of the capital and the near industrial centres. This fact can only be explained by the influence of the industrial proletarians of the Trade-Union who were constantly increasing in numbers, and acquiring a strong revolutionary spirit. But all these unions were of a very primitive character both in their form of organization and in the aims they pursued. In the first place they lacked experience of organization which was very marked, and secondly the influence of the compromising leaders, who were mostly of the socialist revolutionary type with their narrow bourgeois ideals and their agrarian program full of contradiction and omissions.

These unions in the period of their development during the February revolution, aimed mainly at protecting their craft interests, not realising that the problem confronting agricultural workers was the ownership and organization of production.

Only in October 1917 was an end put to this position, and the illusions of craft unionism were thrown aside and first place was given to the problem of securing working class ownership and organization of the industry on communist principles. From this moment a revival took place in

the various Agricultural Workers' Unions which were in existence. The organization of new Unions were soon started in districts populated by an agricultural proletariat.

The Composition and structure of the Union.

The main task of the first Central Committee was to organize the working masses, to attract them into the Union and to set up a proper apparatus. According to the rules, all agricultural wage workers are eligible for membership in the union. At the present time the union is composed of workers and employees on the Soviet Farms (agricultural orchards, cattle breeding, dairies, experimental stations) laborers as well as specialists working on the Soviet estates and serving in the Central and Local governmental districts, (agricult. orchards, cattle breeding farms, dairies, surveyors, etc.

The union is organized on industrial lines, therefore the workers and employees in auxiliary trades serving the Soviet Farms i. e. workers in mills, blacksmith shops; also members of other trades, saddlers, carpenters, joiners, locksmiths, tylers, coopers, shoemakers, tailors, are eligible for membership.

On the first of January 1920 the number of paying members in the union were 65,000; but this is only approximate because many local sections did not give any information, owing to the great distance and bad communications. The probable number of members is nearer 100,000. According to the data of the Commissariat of Agriculture this number of workers were employed, on Soviet Farms alone. As the membership is obligatory, it is quite clear that that number of members could not be less than the number of workers employed in the industry.

The Congress organized and drew up a scheme for organizing several sections of the union: such as Agricultural, Horticultural, Forestry, Land Surveying etc. but it soon became evident that such subdivision was unnecessary and was therefore abandoned. The land surveyors particularly urged the need for their section, but even they eventually abandoned this position, and the Bu-

ness of the section, elected by the conference of Land Surveyors was dissolved.

The structure of the union is as follows: There is a Central Committee (in Moscow), in the Governments and districts there are local Departments, aided by Management Committees, on the Farms there are Committees of workers and employees.

All the organs of the union are elected by a special Conference, in which all members participate either through delegates (national, government, ouyezd) or Conferences, of general members on the Farms.

Conferences of representatives of the union are summoned, besides the conferences called to decide Economic and administrative questions. Up to the present time there has been one All-Russian Conference, in the end composed of the representatives of the management Committees of the Provincial Departments, and the most important Districts Departments. In Provinces and Districts the Conferences of the Committees are held not less than once a month, and General Conferences twice a year.

In the Central Committee and in the Management Committee of Provincial Departments, these are the following Departments: The Secretariat with an organizing Sub-department, the Standardization of Wages, Protection of Labor and Educational Departments. The Controlling Department is not yet organized either in the centre, or in the Districts:

The following Commissions are formed in connection with the Workers Committees: wage fixing, Educational Commissions.

The Workers Committees have wage, labor protection, and Educational Sub-Committees, although the latter exist only on large Soviet estates which employ a large number of workmen. Soviet Farms which are of recent formation have a common Workers Committee, the workers Committees in these cases have not been abandoned.

The Task of the Union.

The chief object of the Landworkers Industrial Union, has been:

1) The organization of agriculture on Communist principles propagating their idea among the peasants. 2) the increase of efficiency by appropriate means and planned organization, the expulsion of parasitic elements, and the establishment

of strict Labour discipline. 3) the protection of Labor on the Soviet Farms. 4) educational work among the agricultural workers, to give first place to abolishing illiteracy and to organize Agricultural schools.

The participation of the union in the organization of agriculture took the form chiefly in organizing the labor of the workers, the establishment of Control and Management, and the direct participating in management by putting forward the best workers in the union for responsible posts in the management.

The greatest attention is now given to the organization of model Soviet farms as the union is convinced that the success of the propaganda in favor of agriculture on communist principles, depends on the organization of Farms which may serve as an example to the peasants. To carry out successfully this task an information department has been formed which collects all the data relating to agriculture; this data is applied when working out agricultural plans, controlling etc. and also when calculation of the technical forces, (this work is just being organized), in order that the fullest and best use be made of them. The local control or production, is carried out by the workers Committees on the various undertakings, which elect wage and standardization of Labor Committees to standardize labor and wages according to the instructions of the Central organs of the union; it controls the labor discipline, and the proper execution of plans and protection of public property, but the committees do not interfere with the technical administration of the industry which belongs exclusively to the Management.

The following figures give a characteristic view of the work of the union in connection with the organizing Soviet estates:

According to statistics provided by the Commissariat of Agriculture, previous to the advance of Denikin there were 33 governments in Central Russia, 2463 Soviet estates with a total area of 1,361,490 desiatins of which 745,536 was ploughed land and 313,354 was arable. The number of permanent workers were 63,574 employees, 6941 experts and others who with their families totaled 107,820. The number of coast working horses was 36,727 horned cattle 56,595.

There were 13,4 desiatins per man and 19,5 per horse. In the northern Governments, Tzaritzin and Astrachan Governments and also on the far

South Coast the Soviet estates are small—20 in each Government.

The last two governments are remarkable for their organization.

In the Spring of 1920, in 34 governments of great Russia there were estates managed by the Governmental Agricultural Departments including 2,625 Soviet estates managed by the government agricultural Department with the total area 1,399,385 desiatins with 624,899 of ploughed land.

In the interest of industrial organization and increase of efficiency the union established a definite standard of labor which the workers are expected to maintain.

The union recognizes piece work and premium bonus system as a stimulus of raising production, but this so far has not been introduced nor has the naturalization of wages (payment of any kind) which in the future will be the corner stone of the union wage policy. The wages of Agricultural workers and employees are defined in special scales worked out by the Central Committee of the union. This scale is to be supplemented when details are worked out, little has been done for protection of labor. This is explained by the fact that the union has only existed a short time; it was therefore not only impossible to introduce radical measures for the protection of labor but also to study this question in order to find a rational solution of the various problems, on the other hand, the union was prevented from carrying out this work by the extraordinary conditions which prevailed, when the whole attention of the Republic was concentrated on the struggle with the White Guards who were supported by the Allies.

The greatest achievement of the unions was the organization of the Fostitate of agricultural labor, which is functioning now in most of the Governments. The immediate tasks which the union is endeavoring to achieve in the sphere of protection of labor are: the regulation of food supplies, improvement of housing conditions, seeing to the observations of the Labor Laws in Agriculture, the introduction of normal working day, the abolition of child labor, up to the age of 14, the reduction of working day for young persons under 18.

The carrying on of educational work was even more difficult than work in connection with the protection of labor. The lack of trained workers was severely felt, so also was the scarcity of

necessary appliances and literature which would answer the demand of the moment.

Recently however work in this direction is being conducted more smoothly. In all the governments of Russia an 3 months course has been started as well as one year technical course for the training of expert agriculturists, and these should be able to control and direct the Councils of public Economy and carry out various measures in agriculture.

The Union hopes by the end of 1920 to have started a sufficient number of such courses to enable at least the majority if not all workers in the Soviet estates to take them up.

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My Own Shop

What's The Matter With The Coal Miners?

By An Illinois Miner.

Coal mining is one industry which is pretty well organized on the principle of industrial unionism. The coal digger or loader (he is the man who mines and shoots the coal loose and loads it in the car), the shift man, the driver, the cager, the trapper, etc., all belong to one union, The United Mine Workers of America. So it is natural that they should all work with one purpose in view: united action on the industrial battlefield.

On the other hand are the union officials who are elected to look after the interests and carry out the wishes of the rank and file. The miners have put the power into the hands of these officials; that is the reason for the failure of the union in recent years to get any substantial benefits for the members. There was a time in the history of our organization when the real power was in the hands of the pit committees. Then we used to get quick adjustments for our grievances or quick action by the rank and file if the adjustments were not made.

Today the rank and file power is gone. It has been given over to official representatives who, in most cases, like Lewis, the International President, and Farrington, the president of the Illinois District, act more like policemen for the operators than servants of the mine workers. The power to strike which used to be exercised by the men in the mines and which is the one weapon the operators fear is now held by the officials. If we go out on strike now without "permission" of these high-salaried officers of our union we are declared to be "outlaws." Do you know what happened in Illinois last year when we tied up the mines to get action on our demands? Well, our district officials went into the strike-breaking business. The money we have been paying into the treasury all these years was used to hire scabs to work in the mines. We have a great organization of over 400,000 members, but what the hell good is it under such conditions?

It is high time we consider this question and take action to regain the control of our own organization. I will outline a plan here which is being talked over by the old fighters of Illinois.

If it is taken up all over the country and put into effect it will solve the problem. Most of the miners are hollering that we must fire out the crooked leaders and replace them with honest men. That's right, too, but we must go farther and change the system of control in the union. This is our plan:

First: At each and every mine elect a committee of three which we will call the RANK AND FILE TOUCH COMMITTEE. The function of this committee will be to obtain all the complaints and grievances of the rank and file. The chairmen of each committee meet together every two weeks in a subdistrict joint-committee to act on the wishes of the rank and file. The other two members of each committee stay at the mines and, in conjunction with the local president, settle all grievances at the pit top.

Second: The chairmen of each sub-district joint committee will keep in communication with each other and meet periodically to consider matters affecting the whole district. All the districts throughout the country are to be federated into one unofficial rank and file movement. The power to act shall be in the hands of these unofficial delegates, not in the hands of salaried officers.

Third: The rank and file will instruct these delegates what to do. All agreements and settlements must be ratified and sanctioned by the rank and file. Any delegate not doing according to instructions should be immediately recalled.

If we had had a rank and file machine like this last November we would have won our demands; no injunctions, jails, courts or any other weapon of the operators could have stopped us. Today we have practically no voice in any agreements or settlements of any kind. The minute we have trouble we must call our local president. If he can't settle it, it goes to the sub-district, then to the board members and so on and so on. And us poor dubs wait, wait and wait until we are waited out of a job or starved to death. It's all our own fault, so let's not cry about it, but go ahead and change the system.